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SUBJECT: NEW YORK TIMES, DECEMBER 12, 1973

FOLLOWING IS OP-ED PIECE BY C. FRED BERGSTEN, BROOKINGS
FELLOW:

ECONOMICS ARE NOW CLEARLY CENTRAL TO U.S. FOREIGN
POLICY. THEY REPRESENT THE BULK OF OUR RELATIONS WITH
JAPAN, CANADA AND THE THIRD WORLD. THEY ARE AN INTEGRAL
COMPONENT OF OUR RELATIONS WITH EUROPE WITH DIRECT LINKS
TO OUR SECURITY TIES. MUCH OF THE SOVIET MOTIVATION FOR
DETENTE APPEARS BASED ON A DESIRE FOR AMERICAN TECHNOLOGY,
CREDITS AND FOOD. FUTURE U.S. LEVERAGE IN BOTH HANOI AND
SAIGON DEPENDS IMPORTANTLY ON ITS ABILITY TO PROVIDE
ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.

THUS THOSE WHO SEEK TO RUN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY CAN
DO SO EFFECTIVELY ONLY IF THEY ARE ABLE TO PLAY AN EQUAL
ROLE, ALONG WITH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR DOMESTIC POLICY IN
FORMULATING U.S. POLICY ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES.
THIS IS TRUE PARTICULARLY SINCE THESE ISSUES HAVE ALSO BE-
COME CENTRAL TO MANY OF OUR DOMESTIC CONCERNS, AS EXEMPLI-
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FIED MOST GRAPHICALLY BY THE ENERGY CRISIS, AND HENCE GEN-

ERATE HEAVY PRESSURES FOR ACTIONS WHICH IGNORE OUR GLOBAL RELATIONSHIPS.

BUT HENRY KISSINGER'S RECORD ON ECONOMICS IS DISMAL. ON MOST ISSUES, HE HAS TOTALLY ABSTAINED. THIS IS TRUE EVEN ON THE MOST CRITICAL MATTERS OF INTERNATIONAL MONETARY RELATIONS AND TRADE, SUCH AS THOSE WHICH LED DIRECTLY TO THE COLLAPSE OF THE POSTWAR ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN LATE 1971 AND THE RECENT OUTBREAK OF VICIOUS EXPORT CONTROLS BOTH BY (SOYBEANS) AND AGAINST (OIL) THE UNITED STATES. IT IS TRUE EVEN ON THE ISSUES MOST OBVIOUSLY RELATED TO FOREIGN POLICY, SUCH AS RESTORING A VIABLE U.S. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

WHERE MR. KISSINGER DID RELUCTANTLY GET INVOLVED IN ECONOMIC ISSUES, HE USUALLY BUNGLED BADLY. HE BOTCHED THE TEXTILE NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN, WHICH BADLY SOURED US-JAPAN RELATIONS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. HE CONTRIBUTED TO THE GIVEAWAY OF WHEAT TO THE SOVIET UNION IN THE PELL-MELL RUSH TO REACH CONCRETE AGREEMENTS AT THE MOSCOW SUMMIT. HE IGNORED THE ECONOMIC ISSUES WHICH ARE CENTRAL TO US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS IN HIS CALL FOR A NEW ATLANTIC CHARTER. FOR A TIME, BLOCKED CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON THE TRADE BILL, IN AN INHERENTLY FUTILE EFFORT TO AVOID RESTRICTIONS ON U.S.-SOVIET ECONOMIC RELATIONS, JEOPARDIZING THE WHOLE OUTLOOK FOR THE TRADE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH ARE KEY TO ALLIANCE RELATIONS AND THROUGH THEM TO U.S. SOVIET RELATIONS. HE RECENTLY SOUGHT TO KEEP GEORGE SHULTZ FROM EVEN GOING TO THE LOIRE TO DISCUSS URGENT MONETARY MATTERS WITH THE KEY EUROPEANS AND JAPANESE. AND HIS EMASCULATION OF THE TRADITIONAL FOREIGN POLICY MACHINERY IN WASHINGTON HAS PRECLUDED ANY MEANINGFUL FOREIGN POLICY INPUT TO MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC DECISIONS.

WHY HAS MR. KISSINGER, THE "SUPER-STAR" OF FOREIGN POLICY, PERFORMED SO POORLY ON SUCH A CENTRAL ISSUE OF FOREIGN POLICY? IGNORANCE OF THE SUBJECT, WHICH HE READILY ADMITS, CAN BE AS READILY DISMISSED AS AN EXPLANATION. MR. KISSINGER WAS NO EXPERT ON CHOU EN-LAI BEFORE 1969. HE ENGINEERED A QUICK SOLUTION OF THE 1971 MONETARY CRISIS WHEN HE FINALLY REALIZED THAT IT WAS THREATENING TO SHATTER U.S. ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIPS. AND UNCLASSIFIED

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HE PERFORMED ADMIRABLY IN NEGOTIATING THAT SOLUTION WITH MR. POMPIDOU AT THE AZORES; (JOHN CONNALLY WORKED OUT THE DETAILS AT THE SMITHSONIAN.)

THE EXPLANATION RUNS FAR DEEPER INTO THE KISSINGER STYLE AND SUBSTANTIVE POINT OF VIEW. ECONOMIC ISSUES CANNOT BE HANDLED BY SUPERSTAR SOLOS. THEY REQUIRE BOTH POLITICAL AND BUREAUCRATIC CONSENSUS AT HOME, SUSTAINED ATTENTION, AND MESSY NEGOTIATION WITH A VARIETY OF LEADERS

ABROAD, BECAUSE THE ISSUES FUSE A WIDE VARIETY OF NEGOTIATING FRONTS. MR. KISSINGER HAS YET TO DEMONSTRATE THE ABILITY TO DEVELOP A DOMESTIC CONSENSUS ON ANY ISSUE, LET

ALONE THOSE OF ECONOMICS WHERE VESTED INTERESTS CLASH SHARPLY. HIS MAJOR FOREIGN SORTIES HAVE BEEN TO TOTALITARIAN OPPOSITE NUMBERS WHO COULD ALONE SPEAK TO HIM FOR THEIR GOVERNMENTS. HE IS RELUCTANT TO ENGAGE WITH LOTS OF BUREAUCRATIC ADVERSARIES ON ISSUES IN WHICH HE IS NOT RECOGNIZED AS THE LEADING AUTHORITY IN TOWN AS WOULD BE TRUE IN THE ECONOMIC AREA, ESPECIALLY IN THE ABSENCE OF ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY WHICH HE CAN CONTROL. AFTER ALL THIS IS THE MAN WHO TOLD THE ITALIAN JOURNALIST ORIANA FALLACI THAT "MY SUCCESS...STEMS FROM THE FACT THAT I'VE ALWAYS ACTED ALONE." A POSTURE WHICH PRECLUDES SERIOUS INVOLVEMENT IN ECONOMIC ISSUES.

SUBSTANTIVELY, MR. KISSINGER APPARENTLY SEEKS A BALANCE-OF-POWER WORKING TO HIS ADVANTAGE.
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